

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 NEA-10 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4745

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 29261

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS : PFOR, FR, NATO, EC

SUBJECT : JOBERT'S EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND DEFENSE ISSUES

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POUCHED TO: AMCONSULS BORDEAUX, LYON, MARSEILLE, MARTINIQUE,
NICE, STRASBOURG

GENEVA FOR CSCE AND SALT DELS

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

1. SUMMARY. IN A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS NOVEMBER 12 DURING ASSEMBLY DEBATE ON BUDGET FOR THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT HIT REPEATEDLY AT THE NEED FOR CLOSER EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION. AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF A VIGOROUS CONDEMNATION OF SUPER POWER CONSOMINIUM MOST RECENTLY DEMONSTRATED IN THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, JOBERT CONCLUDED THAT FRANCE MUST CONTINUE TO PURSUE THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE WHILE NOT REDUCING FRENCH DEFENSE EFFORTS. HE ACKNOWLEDGED INDISPENSIBLE NEED FOR US FORCES IN DEFENSE OF EUROPE. END SUMMARY.

2. EUROPEAN UNITY. LABELING FRANCE'S APPROACH TO EUROPEAN UNITY AS "REALISTIC," JOBERT CAUTIONED AGAINST SUBSTITUTING AMBITIOUS PLANS FOR CONCRETE, IF IMITED, PROGRESS EVEN THOUGH THIS MAY SEEM INSUFFICIENT TO SOME. RECALLING THE NINE'S COPENHAGEN MEETINGS OF JULY AND SEPTEMBER, JOBERT UNDERLINED PROGRESS IN DEFINING EUROPE'S IDENTITY AND IN TREATING WITH THE US ON THE BASIS OF A DIALOGUE OF TWO RATHER THAN TEN. WHILE THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS INITIALLY FOUND THE NINE IMPOTENT, THEY EVENTUALLY AGREED TO THE COMMON DECLARATION OF NOVEMBER 6 WHICH, ACCORDING TO JOBERT, REPRESENTS THE FIRST EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN THE SOLUTION OF A PROBLEM WHICH CONCERNS EUROPE MORE DIRECTLY THAN MANY OTHER POWERS. THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS CONTINUED JOBERT, ALSO LED TO PRESIDENT POMPIDOU'S INITIATIVE CALLING FOR A SUMMIT OF THE NINE "THAT MEETING, LIKE THOSE WHICH I HOPE WILL FOLLOW, MUST PERMIT CHIEFS OF STATE AND OF GOVERNMENT, HAVING RECOGNIZED THE CONVERGENCE OF THEIR WILLS, TO DECIDE THE ACTIONS WHICH WILL GIVE TO EUROPE THE MEANS WHICH IT NEEDS FOR ITS OWN AFFAIRS AND FOR WORLD AFFAIRS, CONFORMING TO ITS ASPIRATIONS AND ITS INTERESTS THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS UNDOUBTEDLY HAS OPENED SOME EYES AFTER PRESIDENT POMPIDOU'S PROPOSAL IN SEPTEMBER (FOR EC HINE SUMMITS)" SAID JOBERT.

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3. DEFENSE. ASSERTING THAT THERE CAN BE NO PURELY EUROPEAN DEFENSE UNTIL THERE IS A EUROPEAN POLICY, JOBERT SAID THAT TODAY.S SECURITY IS BASED ON THE CONVERGENCE OF:
-- THE EFFORT OF EACH EUROPEAN COUNTRY, NOTABLY THAT OF FRANCE;
-- THE EFFORTS OF THE US AND THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITHIN NATO;
-- THE PRESENCE AND THE ENGAGEMENT OF THE US IN EUROPE.

HE NOTED THAT THIS CONVERGENCE POSES SOME "DELICATE PROBLEMS." FOR EXAMPLE, THE US "ABSORBED BY ITS DIFFICULT DIALOGUE WITH THE USSR" HAD NOT TAKEN THE TROUBLE TO WARN ITS ALLIES THAT IT HAD DECIDED TO ALERT ITS FORCES. THIS, SAID JOBERT, CONFIRMED THE FRENCH ANALYSIS OF THE FUNCTIONING OF NATO. MOREOVER, PROPOSITIONS THAT, UNDER THE COVER OF DETENTE OR DISARMAMENT, REALLY SEEK TO REGULATE THE EQUILIBRIUM BETWEEN THE SUPER POWERS AT THE RISK OF SACRIFICING EUROPEAN AUTONOMY AND TO MORTGAGE THE FUTURE OF EUROPE MUST BE GREETED WITH GROWING RESERVE.

4. DISARMAMENT. RECALLING DE GAULLE'S PROPOSAL ALMOST TEN YEARS AGO FOR A CONFERENCE OF NUCLEAR POWERS TO EXAMINE NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, JOBERT SUBSCRIBED TO THE IDEA OF A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SAME NUCLEAR POWERS. ON THE CCD, HE QUOTED THE SWEDISH FOMIN'S STATEMENT THAT "FOR THE SECOND CONSECUTIVE YEAR, THE CCD RETURNS TO THE UNGA WITH EMPTY HANDS." RE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR 10 PERCENT REDUCTION IN DEFENSE BUDGETS OF NUCLEAR POWERS, JOBERT NOTED THE ABSENCE OF ANY PARALLEL SUGGESTION FOR AN EFFECTIVE MECHANISM TO VERIFY THE REAL LEVELS OF MILITARY SPENDING. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE FACT THAT THE ARMS RACE OF THE TWO SUPER POWERS DOES NOT GO TO ABSURD PROPORTIONS CAN HARDLY BE CALLED DISARMAMENT.

5. ON SALT, JOBERT WELCOMED THE PROGRESS TOWARD LIMITATIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS, WHILE UNDERLINING THE UNWELCOME EFFECT ON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE US NUCLEAR ASSURANCE TO EUROPE AND ON THE INDEPENDENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF OTHER NATIONAL STRATEGIC FORCES.

6. RE MBFR, JOBERT PROTESTED AGAINST THE CREATION BY THOSE NEGOTIATIONS OF A SPECIAL ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE WHERE NATIONAL AS WELL AS STATIONED FORCES WOULD BE REDUCED. HE NOTED THAT

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"IT IS CLEAR . . . THAT THERE IS NO EQUIVALENCE BETWEEN A WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN FORCES ACROSS THE OCEAN AND A DRAW BACK OF SOVIET TROOPS TO RUSSIA."

7. AGAIN REFERERING TO THE MIDDLE EAST WAR, JOBERT ASKED RHETORICALLY "WHAT SHOULD WE THINK ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN MBFR MECHANISM OF VERIFICATION, SUPPOSEDLY GUARANTEEING THE SECURITY OF EUROPE, IN LIGHT OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST WAR, WHICH DEMONSTRATED THAT THE FINEST (INTELLIGENCE) SYSTEMS WERE NOT ABLE TO AVOID CERTAIN SURPRISES?" BECAUSE OF THIS, HE CONCLUDED, NEITHER FRANCE NOR EUROPE MUST PERMIT ITSELF TO BE SACRIFICED TO THE DEFINITION OF A BALANCE ABOUT WHICH THEY HAVE NO SAY.

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8. US AND THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE. HAVING ROUNDLY CRITICIZED
THE UNITED STATES IN THE COURSE OF HIS SPEECH, JOBERT REPEATED
POMPIDOU'S STATEMENT THAT "CURRENTLY, THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE
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... TO THE SECURITY THAT IS ASSURED BY THE US NUCLEAR FORCES, WHETHER BASED IN THE US OR IN EUROPE." IT IS FOR THIS REASON, CONTINUED JOBERT, THAT FRANCE IS FAITHFUL TO THE NATO ALLIANCE, WITHOUT MODIFYING THE GOF POSITION REGARDING THE INTEGRATED ORGANIZATION. ECHOING SOME OF THE LANGUAGE IN THE FRENCH DRAFT NATO DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS, HE CONCLUDED "BUT THE EVOLUTION OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS RQUIRES THAT WE DEFINE THE CONDITIONS OF THE AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT, BECAUSE THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE HENCEFORTH WILL HAVE A SPECIAL CHARACTER. IF THE STRATEGIC BALANCE BETWEEN THE US AND USSR, WITH THE RESULTING RECIPROCAL VULNERABILITY, MAKES THEIR RELATIONS MORE STABLE, EUROPE ITSELF REMAINS VULNERABLE TO OTHER FORMS OF CONFLICT AND THE PROBLEM OF EUROPE'S DEFENSE BECOMES MORE AND MORE SPECIFIC.

"A REDEFINITION IS TODAY MORE DESIRABLE. THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT HAS LED TO A QUESTIONING OF THE FUNCTION OF THE ALIANCE (HOW TO RECONCILE THE CONSULTATIONS FORESEEN BY THE ALLIANCE WITH THOSE FORESEEN IN THE AGREEMENT 'ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR' OF JUNE 22, 1973, BETWEEN THE TWO SUPER POWERS?) AND THE CONCEPTION THAT SOME HAVE OF THE ALLIANCE.

"IT IS NECESSARY TO AFFIRM THE ESSENTIAL POINTS:

- THE UNDERTAKING OF THE US TO MAINTAIN ITS TROOPS IN EUROPE AND TO INTERVENE WITH ALL ITS FORCES, INCLUDING ITS NUCLEAR FORCES, IF NECESSARY;
- THE UNDERTAKING OF THE EUROPEANS TO MAKE THE NECESSARY CONTRIBUTION TO KEEP THE COMMON DEFENSE AT A LEVEL CAPABLE OF DETERRING ANY MOVE DIRECTED AGAINST THERI INDEPENDENCE OR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY;
- THE DETERMINATION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE TO USE ALL THEIR FORCES AGAINST A POSSIBLE ANEMY WHO, THROUGH THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF EUROPE, WOULD ASSURE FOR IT-SELF THE DOMINATION OF THE WORLD."

9. COMMNET: JOBERT'S SPEECH CHARTS NO NEW GROUND ON EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION OR ON DEFENSE ISSUES. IT LOSES NO OPPORTUNITY, HOWEVER, TO POUR SALT INTO WOUNDED NATO SENSITIVITIES OVER CONSULTATION. IT DEMONSTRATES ONCE AGAIN THE CURIOUS CONTRADICTION BETWEEN FRENCH DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE -- PARTICULARLY FROM THE US -- AND FRENCH REALIZATION THAT THERE CAN BE NO DEFENSE OF EUROPE WITHOUT THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF THE US. WHILE WE ASSUME MUCH OF JOBERT'S ANTI-AMERICAN RHETORIC WAS DESIGNED FOR HOME CONSUMPTION, IT ALSO REFLECTS THE RPOFOUND

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INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE GOF AND US CONCEPTIONS OF EUROPE'S SECURITY. JOBERT'S SPEECH IS A REJECTION OF AN INTEGRATED AND INTIMATE US-EUROPEAN

SECURITY PARTNERSHIP, EXCEPT INsofar AS IT RECOGNIZES (HOWEVER GRUDGINGLY) EUROPE'S DEPENDENCE ON US NUCLEAR (AND CONVENTIONAL) FORCES FOR ITS ULTIMATE SECURITY. JOBERT'S TONE, HOWEVER, WAS ONE OF REGRET, NOT OF SATISFACTION, WITH THIS DEPENDENCE. IRWIN

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